

THE
S P E E C H
O F
Henry Sacheverell, D.D.
U P O N H I S
I M P E A C H M E N T

At the B A R of the
House of L O R D S,
I N
W e s t m i n s t e r - H a l l.

March the 7th, 1709.

P u b l i s h ' d f r o m a C o r r e c t E d i t i o n.

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My Lords,

THE Defence made by Council has been so full and particular, and the Tryal it self draw out into so great a length, that I should not add to your Lordships Trouble by saying any thing for my self, did I not think that in such a Cause as this (wherein the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of that Holy Order to which I belong, and even the Common Interest of Christianity it self are so nearly concern'd) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.

For, my Lord, it has been own'd by some of the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, that tho' I am the Person Impeach'd, yet my Condemnation is not the thing Principally aim'd at, I am, it seems, an insignificant Tool of a Party not worth regarding; the all vow'd Design of my Impeachment is, by the means of it, to procure an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fix'd in a Parliamentary way, on all those who maintain the Doctrine of Non-Resistance; and to have the Clergy directed what Doctrine they are to Preach, and what not, and therefore as insignificant as I am in my self, yet the Consequences of my Tryal (if rightly represented to your Lordships by some of those Gentlemen) are of the highest Moment and Importance.

Since I am the unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before Your Lordships, it will behove me, I think after what has been pleaded in my behalf by my Council, learned in the Law, to say somewhat also for my self, in order to clear the Innocence of my Intentions, and remove that Load of Guilt and Infamy, which may be laid upon me, should your Lordships determine (as I trust in God you will not) that the Articles of impeachment exhibited, have been made good against me.

With your Lordships Permission, then I shall lay before you some few General Remarks, which in my humble Opinion, may be added to what my Council have already observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the Managers for the Honourable the House of Commons, to prove and support the Articles of their Charge: And shall then, with your Lordships leave, say somewhat severally to the Articles themselves, which may serve to remind your Lordships of what my Council offer'd more at large, and with greater Advantage.

My Lords, the Charge brought against me in these Articles is of a very high and heinous Nature, and had it been as clear made, as it has been strongly affirm'd, it would justly have expos'd me to a very severe Sentence. But the more Heavy the Charge is, the more Evident and Undeniable, I shou'd think, the Proof of it ought to be. And how, My Lord, this Charge been supported in the several Articles of it? By directly, and express Passages produc'd and read to Your

ships out of my Sermons, or by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions? By laying entire Sentences before Your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contain'd in them, or by piecing broken Sentences, and conjoining distant and independant Passages, in order to make me speak what I never thought of?

I am unacquainted, My Lords, with the Methods of Legal Proof, and little thought I should have had this Occasion of enquiring into them. But as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this Nature, I should think that there cannot be a clearer Indication, that I am not Guilty of having asserted what I am charg'd by the several Articles to have said, than that so many Hours Learning and Eloquence have been employ'd in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirm'd those Propositions for which I am accus'd, my Sermons being before your Lordships, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly contain'd might have been referr'd to, and read, with the same Ease as my Council referr'd to the Passages contain'd in the several Writings and Sermons of the Reverend Fathers, and other Eminent Divines of Our Church, where in they taught the Doctrine of Non-Resistance in the same Extant as I maintain'd it, or in Terms much stronger.

These Passages produc'd by my Council, were barely read to Your Lordships: No Arguments, no Colours were used, because none were necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages; Whereas to prove the guilty of having asserted what is laid to my Charge, after my Sermons and Prefaces were read to Your Lordships, much Art and Industry were used to perswade Your Lordships, that such Assertion were really contain'd in them.

My Lords, when my Words were capable of two Sences, the worst and most invidious, tho' at the same time the most strain'd and unnatural Construction; has been always made of them. Nay, when my words were so plain and express, that it was impossible to put any Criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been accused of meaning the direct contrary to what I have said: And when I press the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, Your Lordships were told, that it was most certain I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my Guilt, I have been accused not only for what I am supposed to have said, but for what I am allowed not to have said: Not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but for what I have pass'd by unobserv'd. I have been charg'd with Negative Crimes, as if what I have omitted to say, had been omitted with design, and my Silence it self were Criminal.

These, My Lords, are the Methods that have been made use of to prove me Guilty of Crimes, which if prov'd, might affect my Liberty and Portions; no favourable Allowances have been made for the Justice of the Gospel Ministers, &c. &c.

of his Function, and rebuking Vice and Irreligion with an Honest and well meant Zeal; but sometimes carrying himself perhaps into Expressions too open, and unguarded. I could add, My Lords, if such a Complaint might not be thought improper from one in thy Circumstances, that in the course of my Accusation, I have been styl'd a Criminal, and treated as such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with a Degree of Scorn and Indignity, from which I hoped my Sacred Profession, my present unhappy Condition, and a regard to this Solemn and awful Judgement might have skreen'd me.

But, My Lords, I lay aside all complaints of this Nature, and with Your Lordships leave shall proceed to make some few short Observations upon the several Branches of the Charge exhibited against me.

I am charg'd, My Lords, in the first Article, with having maintained, That the necessary means used to bring the late happy Revolution, were odious and unjustifiable, in Proof of which, it has been urg'd, that I have in general Terms asserted the utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supream Power, upon any pretence whatsoever. My Lords, the Resistance in that Passage by me condemn'd, is no where by me apply'd to the Revolution, nor is it applicable to the Case of the Revolution, the Supream Power not being then resisted.

My Lords, I neither expressly apply'd my Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Case of the Revolution, nor had I the least Thought of including the Revolution under my general Assertion. I express'd this Doctrine in the same General Terms in which I found it delivered by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it from the Homilies of our Church, and as I was injoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I used no other Language than what had been used by our first Reformers, by a continued Series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other Celebrated Divines now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers, before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. I had little Reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accus'd by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to Your Lordships as a Criminal, or as an Asperfer of the Memory of the late King, for preaching this Doctrine, when others, who preach the same Doctrine in the same Terms before their late Majesties, before our present Gracious Sovereign, (whom I pray God long to preserve) before each House of Parliament, before this very House of Commons, have met with publick Approbation: But since it is my particular Misfortune to be accus'd for what others have received Thanks, in some instances convey'd unto them by several of the Managers themselves. I do with all humble Confidence rely upon your Lordships Justice, not doubting but the Learned, the Judges, if thought necessary, to be consulted, will declare what I have in this Case assert'd, to be warranted by Law, and the Right Reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the Doctrine of the Gospel. The Doctrine I preach

ed being the Doctrine of the Homilies of our Church, not expressed only in a few particular Passages of those Homilies, but perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor, the main Scope and Design of them: And those Homilies being establish'd by the Thirty nine Articles, as containing Godly and wholesome Doctrine: And those Articles being confirmed by the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, and that Statute being made Perpetual and Fundamental to our Constitution by the late Act of Union, i leave it to your Lordships to consider how far the Condemnation of me on the Account of that Doctrine may affect and shake the present Frame of the British Constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

My Lords, upon the second Article i would pray your Lordships to consider, that i have no where in my Sermon shewn any the least dislike of the indulgence granted by Law to Dissenters; that on the contrary, i have declared my Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which i beg leave once more to repeat to Your Lordships out of my Sermon preach'd at St. Pauls. ' I would not (I there say) be understood as if I intended to cast the least Invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence, which the Government has condescended to give them; which I am sure all those who wish well to our Church are ready to grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them enjoy it in the full Limits the Law prescrib'd.

My Lords, this then was, and still is my Sincere Opinion, nor am I Conscious that I have utter'd one Word inconsistent with it. I have indeed blamed, and perhaps with some warmth and earnestness, the Abuses which Men, scrupulous of no Conscience, have made of the Legal Exemption granted to Consciences only; nor could I think that those Reprehensions of mine would have drawn upon me the Displeasure of any sincere Christian, which were levell'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Dists and such as under the Umbrage of that Act, which permit Protestant Dissenters, and those only, to serve God every Man in his own way, think themselves at liberty to be at no Protestant Congregation, of no Religion at all, I will farther ingenuously own to Your Lordships, that I had in my Eye some Abuses made of that Act by the Dissenters themselves, who, I am told, do (both Pastors and People) rarely observe the Qualifications prescrib'd by that Act; and who erect Seminaries for educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of our Church: Whereas that act was intended for the Ease of those whose Minds, thro' the unhappy prejudices of Education, were already estranged from the Church; not, as I humbly conceive, to Indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to propagate and perpetuate the Schism.

My Lords, Of any Favours to Dissenters granted or intended by the Law, I have no where complain'd; of Toleration a Word unknown to our Law, and implying, as I am inform'd, much more than our Law-givers design'd. If I have said any thing offensive I

may, I hope, reasonably presume that it will not be judg'd by Your Lordships in any wise to reflect on this Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in Terms no ways I think unbecoming a good Subject, or betraying any want of Christian Moderation. Nor is there, My Lords, any want of it, I conceive, in affirming that this Act, which relieves some Dissenters from Legal Punishments, to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any ways alter'd the nature of Schism, or extinguish'd the Obligations to Church Communion which is an Evangelical Duty incumbent on all Christians by the Rules of the Gospel, antecedent to all Secular Laws, and can by no Humane Power be dispense'd with. If the Church of England, My Lords, imposes no unlawful Terms of Communion, as She certainly doth not, then all Separatists from Her Communion will, notwithstanding the Int'lgence, continue to be Guilty of Schism; the Consequence of which Guilt may still rest upon their Souls, however it may cease to affect their Bodies or Estates: For as no Humane Law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make that void which God hath commanded.

My Lords, I am accus'd under this Head of maintaining, that it is the Duty of Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Persons intituled to the Benefit of the Toleration. I hope it hath evidently appear'd to Your Lordships that I advance no such Position. Sure I am, that my Words do not in themselves carry such a Meaning, nor does the Connexion of my Discourse require that Sentence, or easily admit it. Schismatics, My Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounc'd; the Works of Darkness, which I referre'd to, as fit to be reprov'd in that part of my Sermon, where I speak of these Censures are of the same kind with those mention'd by the Apostles, whose Words I produce. All lewd and immoral Practices; against these, My Lords, and against Heresies and Blasphemies (a black Catalogue of which has been display'd before Your Lordships) I thought the Anathema's of the Church would be well employ'd, such Anathema's I doubt not, My Lords, would be ratify'd in Heaven, and would therefore by any Power on Earth be irreversible.

As to Archbishop Grindall, tho' I may seem to have used some undue Asperity of Expression concerning him; yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for from our Historians: It hath been made appear to Your Lordships, that on the account of his Remissness in Church Government, he lived and dyed under the high Displeasure of Queen Elizabeth; and whether therefore He or that Glorious Queen shall bear the Blame of his Disgrace and Sufferings, is with all Humility submitted to Your Lordships.

I hope, My Lords, I stand clear in Your Opinions of the Charge advanc'd against me in the two first Articles; and as my own Conscience acquits, so I trust Your Lordships will acquit me of whatever is laid to my Charge in the Third.

My Lor^s, I neither suggested, nor do in my Conscience believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity from Her Majesty's Administration; so far am I from any such thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of Her being a most Affectionate Nursing Mother to it. But I hope I may say without Offence, that the Church may be in Peril from other Causes, without any Reflection upon Her Majesty's Government, or any Contradiction to Her Royal Proclamation, and the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament four Years ago. If the Church be in danger, when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope it will be thought no Crime to say, it has scarce ever been in greater Danger than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon Earth. For besides that Deluge of Prophaneness and Immorality, which overspreads the whole Kingdom; besides the variety and growing Strength of those Schisms which weaken and divide us, and of those Heterodox Opinions, and Damnable Heresies which are daily published and propagated among us. I verily believe, that never was the Ministers of Christ so abus'd and villifi'd, never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraign'd and ridicul'd, never were Infidelity and Atheism it self so Impudent and Barefaced, never were such horrid Blasphemies printed in any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Out of the many Instances of this kind, which being ready at Hand, I could have produc'd to Your Lordships, I have sel^t & d a few only; but those such, as I am persuaded Your Lordships could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon me, My Lords, if my apprehension of the sad Consequences we may expect from such crying Abominations, have forced from me some Expressions, which upon a less occasiⁿ might seem too hasty and vehement. A Man that reads no danger from such unparallel'd Iniquities that do, as it were, call down God's severest Judgments upon that poor Church and Nation, wherein they are openly and daringly committed, must be dead in his love to his Country and Religion. If I have disclosed such a frightful and detestable Scene of Impiety, which by reason of your Lordships high Station; and great Employments might possibly be undiscovered to your Sight before, I shall think my self happy, whatever ih^t befall me, if I may, by God's Grace, become the mean Instrument of putting a stop to that overflowing of Ungodliness and Blasphemy, which as yet no Laws, no Proclamations, how well soever designed, and how often so ever repeated, have been able to restrain.

Nor ought I, My Lords, to forget, tho' it was forgotten by the Honourable Managers, another Ground of Danger arising to this Church from the Attempts of the Popish Emulators, by me mention'd. I hope, without the least offence, in my Sermon at St. Paul's, where I say, "It were highly to be wish'd, that those excellent Laws made for a Defence and Security of the Church, were at present put strictly in Execution; for the Romish Catholick Agents and Missionaries that swarm about this g^t C^t

City, as 'twere in Defiance and Contempt of them, were never more busy in making Proselytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and perverting and debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of our Streets. I have not, my Lords, been call'd upon to prove the truth of this Passage, nor has it been reckon'd among the false Insinuations I have made that the Church is in Danger. I pray G O D the Church may be in no Danger upon any of these Accounts, Her Majesty, Your Lordships, and the Commons, have indeed provided against these Dangers by wholesome Laws; and I hope I did not exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to preach'd before Magistrates, I exhorted them to prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in execution.

Just had been the Indigation of the Honourable House of Commons; Just would be your Lordships most severe Resentment, if by any parallel by me drawn, I had insinuated that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the safe and flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then conspiring its Ruine. I have already purg'd my self from this imputation, by observing, that the parallel ascrib'd to me implys, that they who voted King Charles the First to be out of Danger, and those who conspired his Death, were the very same Persons, whereas 'tis certain they were not; for, my Lords, the Vote about the King's Safety was pass'd by Lords and Commons a Year and half before his Execrable Murder, which had been contriv'd by the Army, and was perpetrated by a pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons (not a Tenth part of the whole) after the rest of the Members had been imprison'd or seclud'd, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally reject'd it. You have had, My Lords, a very different Representation of this Fact, made by one of the learned Managers; but this, My Lords, is the real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament for the Attainders of the King's Murderers; and is an Evidence that I could not possibly mean by any Odious Parallel to insinuate, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave your Lordships Patience yet a little further, whilst I speak to what is alledg'd in the fourth Article, which charges me with many Crimes of a very high and flagrant Nature, none of which have been endeavour'd to be prov'd upon me, otherwise than from suppos'd Suggestions and undetermin'd Expressions; and I must still, with your Lordships leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the Expressions are doubtful, there the favourable Sense is always to be prefer'd.

After all that has been said by the learned Managers for the Commons, What Minister of State, I beseech your Lordships, have I been prov'd to reflect upon directly or indirectly, where, or how, do I, by any Suggestion, charge Her Majesty, or those in Authority under Her, with a general Mal-administration? How do I perwigate Her Subjects to keep up a distinction of Par-

ties and Factions, while I reprove those who divide us by Knavish Distinctions, and while I perswade my fellow Subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible, I should stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to Convince them, of the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever? These Things, My Lords, seem Inconsistent, unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for recommending Loyalty, or Seditious for Preaching against Sedition,

I remember, indeed, at the Opening of this Charge against me, that one of the Managers for the House of Commons vouch-fased to offer his Charitable Assistance towards reconciling this seeming Inconsistency; for he was pleas'd to suppose, that when I spake against resisting the Sovereign, I had not our Gracious Queen, but some other Persons in view; and that I might therefore, agreeable to my Principle of Non-Resistance, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against Her Sacred Majesty. Your Lordships will once more pardon my Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly detest any such Traiterous Intentions, and I shou'd in my own Opinion, be unworthy of the Name of a Christian, if I could give my self leave to cast such a black and groundless Imputation upon any one in like Circumstances with mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender, and when therefore I preach the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, it is most apparent, that the Government which I perswaded my Fellow Subjects not to resist, is the present Government. And I humbly conceive, that the present Government, can never be overturn'd, if never resisted.

How true a Zeal and Affection I have always born to Her Majesty's Person and Government, I leave to be judged by your Lordships, and the whole World, from those publick Demonstrations which I have given of it, at all times when I had occasion to make mention of either. I hope your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed Expressions, as an Evident Proof of my unfeigned Duty and Allegiance.

If to call it the most inestimable Blessing this Nation could enjoy, that Her Majesty, the good and pious Relict of the Royal Family, sits now Happily on the Throne of Her Ancestors; If to pray, that God may long preserve Her, for the Comfort and Support of the Church, as the only Security, under God, it has to depend upon; If earnestly to Contend for the Safety, Rights, and Establishment of Her Majesty, together with those of the Church; If to vindicate Her Majesty's Title to the Crown against the Usurpations, Pretences and Encroachments of Her Adversaries, and to assert Her Right to the Throne to have been so clear, manifest, and undoubted, that even Her worst Enemies (could such a pious Prince be suppos'd to have any) might acknowledge it; That She was proclaimed, as it were,

Voice of God, in the universal Joy, Satisfaction, and Unanimity of Her Subjects, that Her personal Merit exempted from that, made Her worthy of a Brighter Diadem than She wears; If to perswade Her Subjects with the most hearty Zeal and Generosity to enter into a necessary War for the Defence of Her Majesty and the Common Preservation of our Church, Liberties, and Constitution, against a powerful Adversary; If to beseech God to prosper so good an Undertaking, to give an happy Event and Issue to such a rightful Cause, to Crown our Arms with Victory, and to make them as Successful as they are Just and Honourable; And that in order to this, we are all bound both in Duty to God, and our Sovereign, as well as by our own Interest, Unanimously and Heartily to Assist and Support Her under this great Undertaking, as far as our Prayers and Estates, Lives and Fortunes can serve Her; If to perswade Her Subjects, that the great and threatening Dangers of our Enemies, should have that just Effect upon us, to unite us as much in our Resolutions and Affections, as they do in our Common Interests, Apprehensions and Troubles; If to set out the Blessings we enjoy in the wise Constitution of our Government and Laws, in the most refin'd Policies of our Parliament and Ministry, in the Strength and Number of our Armies, Fleets, and Confederates; In the Care and watchful Vigilance, the Courage, Resolution and Conduct of our General, and above all in the Piety and Prudence of our most Gracious Queen; If to affirm that She dayly gives fresh Instances of Her Wisdom and Happy Administration of Her Government, and in nothing more shews Her Policy and Distinguishing Judgment, than in making Choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to their Country, and express such a Zeal and Steadiness in its Service, and true Interests, and whom nothing could bribe, or betray into a Party wherein it might any ways seem to be endanger'd; If with the most ardent Request, to implore Gods Providence, which thro' so many Dangers and Difficulties has rais'd up and preserv'd Her Majesty, to carry on those Glorious Undertakings with Success, that she may be able to restore and settle the Peace of Europe in its just Rights and Limitations, and that as God has bestowed a Crown upon Her in this World, as a Reward of those Heroic and Pious Designs, so, after a long Reign here, He would advance her to a higher Throne in Heaven, and dignify her with a Glorious and immortal Crown hereafter. In this, My Lords, I say falsely and maliciously to suggest, that Her Majesty's Administration, both in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the Constitution; if this be Charging Her Majesty, and those in Authority under Her both in Church and State with general Mal-administration; if this be an Incendiary, to perswade Her Subjects to keep up Distinctions, and Factions, and Parties; if this be instilling groundless Jealousies, fomenting destructive Divisions, and stirring up Her Majesty's Subjects to Arms and Violence against any but Her Enemies; then, My Lords, I am guilty of the Articles of Impeachment, otherwise I am Innocent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my Duty, upon all publick Occasions to assert these Principles of Loyalty and Subjection to the supreme Power, whenever I had a proper Call so to do. Of this there are numberless Witnesses in those several Places to which I have belong'd unto. These I beg leave, of your Lordships, particularly to mention Magdalen-Colledge in Oxford, whereof I am at present an unworthy Member, and which by the known Sufferings of the whole Body for the Church and Constitution, contributed as much towards the late happy Revolution as any Society in the Kingdom. To which honourable Society I humbly appeal for my Character and Behaviour. I could also appeal for the same to a right Reverend Lord that now sits on the Bench of Bishops.

Had it been fit to have troubled your Lordships with Evidences of my hearty Affection to the present Government I could have produced them in great abundance from the Persons with whom I have Convers'd, from the Gentlemen whom I have bred up, and from the Congregations to which I have preach'd. If my Principles had any tendency towards alienating the Affections of Her Majesty's Subjects, surely some one instance of my Disloyalty to the Queen, some favourable Expression towards the Pretender, some indication of my dislike to the present Settlement, and the Protestant Succession, might have been pitch'd upon, and exposed to your Lordships in order to justify the Charge of Sedition against me, but I cannot but with Pleasure observe to your Lordships, that from the whole Course of my Action, no one Instance of that kind is alledged, or so much as pretended.

My Lords, the Charge of wresting divers Texts of Scripture, lies very heavy upon me as a Christian and Minister of Christ: If I am guilty of it there is another Tribunal another Bar at which I am to appear, whereby that Scripture which I have wrested, I shall be Judged and Condemn'd. In the mean time, My Lords, that those whose particular Profession and Studies qualify them to be the most Competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve me in this particular.

Upon the whole therefore, My Lords, I hope it appears that I am not guilty of any of the Crimes of which I am accused, that I have transgrel's'd no law of the Land, neither Statute nor Common-law, relating either to Her Majesty, or to my Fellow-subjects, to the Church, or to the State; and that I may with all Humility apply to my own Case, the Words of that Blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example, I hope, I shall have the Grace to follow. *Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against Caesar have I offended any thing at all.*

What I have hitherto humbly offered to your Lordships, relates to my Words and Actions, and as to the Thoughts and Intentions of my Heart, which are known only to God and my own Conscience, and which are affirm'd in my Impeachment to be Wicked, Seditious, and Malicious, I call the Searcher of Hearts to Wit-

ness in the most Solemn and Religious Manner, as I expect to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels at that dreadful Tribunal, before which not only I, but all the World, even your Lordships, now who sit in Judgment upon me, must appear to be Acquitted or Condemn'd; that I had no such wicked, seditious, or malicious Intention; that there is nothing upon Earth, I more detest, and abhor, that my Designs were in every respect, directly contrary. I had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty, to Traduce and Condemn the late happy Revolution, or to Arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing to Undermine and Subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by law Establish'd. That it was my sincere Intention to exert my best Endeavours for their Security, so far was I from intending to perswade Her Majesty's Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions, from instilling Groundless Jealousies, fomenting Destructive Divisions among them, or exciting and stirring them up to Arms and Violence, that my Aim was to perswade them to lay aside all Distinctions, to unite in One well compacted Body, to be Obedient to their Governours, and to support the present Establishment. So far was I from designing to defame Her Majesty's Administration, or to infuse any undutiful Thoughts of her, that I not only pay her all Honour and Obedience, but am from the bottom of my Soul, zealously, and affectionately Loyal to Her, being intirely perswaded, that the Church is so far from being in danger, from Her, that She is as heartily affected to its Establishment and prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shew'd my self to be to her sacred Person and Government.

As to the Protestant Succession by the law establish'd, tho' the Doctrine which I Preach'd, tends to the Security of it (as I heartily Desire every thing may be spoken should tend) yet having no occasion in neither of my Sermons to mention it, nor say any thing that can be interpreted to have any View towards it.

Therefore tho' I cannot with my best Application apprehend, how it comes to be said in the Preamble to my Impeachment That I had design to undermine and subvert it, yet I shall gladly take this opportunity of declaring my self before Your Lordships upon that Subject: Its my sincere and hearty Prayer that God would prolong the Life of Her most sacred Majesty, whose exemplary Goodness and Piety, gives us the best hopes we have of averting that Vengeance which is Due to the Wickedness of the Age we live in, that he would Bless her Councils at Home, and her Arms Abroad, and make her Reign exceed that of her Renownd Predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, in length as well as Glory. But when the Inheretrix of the Bless'd Martyrs Crown and Piety, when She the Desire of our Eyes, and the Breath of our Nostrils shall full of Years, and Honour be gather'd to her Fathers, and exchange her Temporal for an Immortal Crown, since we are depriv'd of that Prince her Royal Offspring, whose Loss no true Lover of his Country, and of the Royal Family can reflect.

reflect upon, without a bleeding Heart, and whom God in his Anger took from us, because we were unworthy of so inestimable a Blessing) I earnestly beseech God in defect of future Issue from Her Majesty, to perpetuate the Succession of the Crown, as it is Established in the most Illustrious House of *Hannover*, which I look upon as next to his Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and Arbitrary Power, the best Security of our Church and of the Constitution, which is the Glory and Happiness of our own Nation, and the Envy of all others! And I can- not yet apprehend, how the Doctrine which I have taught, tends to weaken or undermine it, nor on the other side, how the Do-ctrine of Resistance which brought her Majesty's Royal Grand-father to the Block (supposing a true Doctrine) comes to be mention'd or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd, as a necessary and indispensable Duty, under the most mild and gracious Administration of the best of Queens; nothing seems more strange than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government, unless it be that Non resistance should overturn it.

So far was I therefore from having any of those wicked, malici- ous, or seditious Designs, which are laid to my Charge; that my Intentions were, on the contrary, to instil the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience into my Fellow-Subjects, and withal to put a stop to that Torrent of Lewdness, Irreligion and Atheism, of which I have given Your Lordships so many Fragrant Testi- monies.

Those Outrageous Insults upon God and Goodness, are so pro- voking, that they may excuse some Heat and Severity of Ex- pression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just Sense of Religion, or due Concern for the discharge of his Holy Function, or for the Honour of his Maker and Redeemer. And if any Objection be made against me, for treating with an unbecoming Bitterness, such daring *Rashbekahs*, who defy the living God. I beg leave to reply in the words of a Reverend Father of our Church, *Let them consider what Moderation and Temper a Man need be of, that in this Nation, and this Age, shall speak against Faction, Rebellion, (I add Deism, Tratheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy, and Atheism) without extraordinary Severity.* Nay, its our Duty in such Cases, to express our selves with Warmth and Sharpness, accord- ing to the Example of our Blessed Saviour, who thro' Meekness it self, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the Propha- tizing the House of God. This is not, My Lords, to rail, but to rebuke, and those who Redicule or Censure us for it, either have not, I presume, or will not own they have, a right Notion of the Dignity of our Office, will not consider that we, as the Ambassa- dors of Christ, are commanded in his Name to exhort and rebuke with all Authority, and that our Authority is deriv'd from those to whom it was said by our Blessed Saviour, *He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth Him that sent me.* **Whatever Expressions** therefore in my Sermons may have slipp'd

from me, which seem so far liable to Exception, as to carry a Sence I never intended (as he must be an happy Speaker indeed, whose Words are altogether unexceptionable) yet I humbly hope, the abovementioned Provocations will plead my Excuse, or that at the very worst, some hasty or even violent Expressions, shall not be deem'd high Crimes and Misdemeanours. I desire it may be further considered by Your Lordships, that I could have no temporal Interests to serve by the Doctrines I advanc'd, and therefore could have no design in view, but to discharge my Duty to God as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign as a faithful and loyal Subject.

My Lords, things being honourably offer'd to the Consideration of Your Lordships, I hope, that what I have already suffer'd, as a suppos'd Criminal, will be thought sufficient Punishment for one, who has offended against no Law yet in being. It must be thought no little Grief and Vexation, to any Ingenuous Man, to be brought to the Bar, under the least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to my Charge, but for a Person of my Function, to have an Accusation of this Nature alledged against him, so heinously. Reflecting upon his Holy Character, is such a foul Blot, as tho' his Innocence shou'd evidence at last be clear'd by your Lordships upon the most undeniable:

Evidence must leave a Scar upon his good Name, which is to all Men Peace, but much more so to those, whose whole Capacity of doing good in the World principally depends upon it. My Lords, as the Matter of my Charge was highly Criminal, so the Form, and Manner of it ran in such general and uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of my Accusation, or how to defend my self, when I know not where I should be attack'd; so that after I had provided as particular an Answer as such a general Accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleased in their Replication to say, that there were several Things in it, foreign to the Charge. To the great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that Honourable House, I might add that of a long and close Confinement, and of an Expence no way proportion'd to my Circumstances. These, My Lords, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no Body so well as by him who has been so unhappy to feel the wait of them. And among these I reckon it not the least of my Sufferings that I have been for so long a time debarr'd from taking heed to that Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an Overseer. For ever since I have had my Liberty by the Favour of Your Lordships admitting me to Bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the Duty of my Function, or even appearing in Publick, lest it should occasion any Tumult or Disturbance, as my necessary Attendance on Your Lordships from time to time has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by me, which I profess in the Presence of God to

All the Circumstances, My Lords, being consider'd together, with the Publick manner, the Length and Solemnyt of my Tryal before so August a Court of Judicature, by which means I am made a Gazing-stock both by Reproaches and Afflictions, and a Spectacle to the wthole World; I have stood in this Place Day after Day to hear my self accus'd of the blackest Crimes and openly Revil'd; I have been represent'd as a Papist in disguise, as a Rebel, as an Enemy to Her Majesty's Person and Government, and as a Favourer of the Pretender, tho' I have abjur'd him, that is, as the worst of perjur'd Villains; I have been call'd an insignificant Tool of a Party on the one hand, and a most dangerous Incendiary on the other: Nay, an Angel that is a Devil detacht from the Infernal Regions. All these things, I say, being consider'd (as Your Lordships, I am sure, in tender Compassion towards me will consider them) it's most certain, that whatever be Your Lordships Determination concerning me, I cannot escape without being a very great Sufferer, and I shall have been abundantly Punish'd, tho' I should have the Happiness to be by Your Lordships at last Acquitted.

Yet I cannot reflect without Comfort (the greatest Comfort is next to that of a good Cause and a good Conscience) that I answer for my self this Day before the most Illustrious Assembly in the World, the whole Body of the Nobility of Great Britain, whose Princely Extraction, and High Quality, whose magnificent Titles, and splendid Fortunes, whose hereditary Candour, and Generosity inherent in Noble Blood, inseparable from the Birth and Education of Peers, in a Word, whose solid Judgment and exact Skill in the Laws of this Realm so eminently qualifie them for the final Determination of Justice, who are neither to be sway'd by Hopes, over-rul'd by Fears, nor misled by any false Prejudice or Passion; if it must be a Man's Misfortune to labour under such hard Circumstances as mine, it is no small Mitigation of them, that he pleads his Cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it with the strictest Impartiality, Equity, and Honour.

And when I consider that I stand and am Judged for some of the Doctrines of that Gospel, which God delivered unto our Fathers, and you my Lords the Bishops, their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles, as the sacred Depositum of the Church, to be maintain'd inviolably in its primitive Simplicity, when I consider what is the Cause for which I am this Day called in Question, that it is one of those eternal Truths, which you are so solemnly Commission'd to teach, and earnestly contend for; when I consider that it is what our blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their own precious Blood, and so many Primitive Martyrs maintain'd even in the midst of Flames, so many learned Bishops and Confessors recommended to Posterity in their immortal Writings, as the distinguishing Badge and Glory of our Reformation: Nay, when I consider it is what you your selves have already supported with incontestable Reason and Authority. It is no small satisfaction to me to think, that as your Lordships are my Judges, so you

must be my Advocates: What a Guilt as well as Disgrace would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principle of our Excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retain'd and boasted of as its peculiar Character, by abandoning which we must relaps into some of the worst Doctrines, even of Popery it self, and render our selves the most Contemptible as well as Inconsistent Church in the World! I think I may therefore with Confidence use the Words of the Great Apostle to his Accusers, *Having obtained Help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great; saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses. And I may add Christ and his Apostles did say.*

For my Lords, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expression, yet as I insist upon my Innocence with the respect to all the High Crimes laid to my Charge, so I must still insist upon all the Doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrine of our most Excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are obliged both by Subscription and Oath to acknowledge and defend. And how hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punished in this World for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punished in the next! What a Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud and spare not, to Exhort, to Rebuke in Season and out of Season on the one hand, and Prosecuted, Imprison'd on the other! If this be our Case, who indeed is sufficient for these Things, and how truly may we of the Ministry above all Men living apply to our selves the Words of the Apostle, *If in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable.* But our Comfort is, our hope in Christ, is not only in this Life; justly might we be reproach'd and deserve some of those Reflections which in these licentious Times are so plentifully pour'd upon us, were we not ready to practice the Doctrines we preach of Self-denial, taking up our Cross, patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions. For my own part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my Deliverance or Ruin of any moment to the World, or if it be I am ready not only to be bound, but to die, could I by that do Service to my Queen, my Church or my Country, neither count I my Life dear, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus. But may God so direct your Lordships, that thro' me a Wound may not be given to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Charch, which Christ hath purchas'd with his own Blood.

And so with all Humility and Resignation, I submit my Self to Your Lordships Judgment, be what it will, one thing I'm sure it can never take from me the Power of Wishing and Praying, and whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am Acquitted or Condemned, I shall always Pray for the Queen my Sovereign, for Your Lordships my Judges, and for the Commons my Accusers, most earnestly Beseeching Almighty God to deliver all Orders and Degrees of Men from all false Doctrines Heresie, and Schism, from Hardness of Heart, &c.